

### RELIGION AND LABOR SIT DOWN TOGETHER J.A.C.

For more than forty years I have been a minister of the gospel. For longer than that I have been a sympathetic onlooker of the labor movement, sometimes critical of its methods but a firm believer in its objectives. This is simply preliminary to saying that in the annual convention of the National Religion and Labor Foundation at Cincinnati, Ohio, April 7-8, I got a closer look at labor, in relation to religion than I ever had before.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation is not a large or prosperous fellowship. On the contrary, it is small and weak in numbers and supports its program. Among its purposes as religious and labor movements to inter-act their aims and programs to help one another and to bring them into relations of mutual understanding and cooperation, to define the social teachings of our religious faith and apply them to our economic and industrial life, and to help the forces of religion and labor to discover and apply the techniques of social action that will achieve the ideals of our democratic faith.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation is an inter-union and an interfaith fellowship. On its executive board are representatives of the AFL, the CIO, and the railway brotherhoods, in the persons of such men as Walter Reuther, president of the UAW, George M. Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Joseph P. Kamp, president of the Communications Workers, with John G. Ramsay, director of community relations for the CIO, serving as labor co-chairman.

Among the prominent representatives of religion on the executive board are Dr. John Haynes Holmes, honorary president, Dr. Allen Knight, president, Dr. Jerome Davis, the Rev. Donald B. Cloward, executive secretary of the Commission on Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention, President Mordecai Johnson, of Howard University, Dean J. W. Faulkner, dean of the Chapel at Fisk University, the Rev. Hubert F. Klemme, executive secretary of the Commission on Social Education and Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Dean Walter G. Muellder of Boston University, Dean Liston Pope of Yale Divinity School, Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, president of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Very Rev. Maurice J. Shean, Father Francis J. Flanagan, the Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr.,

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### ARE WE AFRAID OF PEACE?

In a world which is encouraged even by many of its best known Christian theologians to believe that ethical wisdom consists in the choosing of the lesser of two evils, it is not surprising to find the American public weighing the prospects for peace with very little enthusiasm. It is not surprising. But it is profoundly disappointing. The unspoken question in the minds of many people seems to be, "Shall we take a chance on a continued war or on the possibility of a postwar depression?"

#### "Wars and Rumors of War"

One has the feeling, almost, that we are afraid of peace. Yesterday, there were millions of young people in our country who had never known a Republican president. Today there are as many millions who have never known a world free from war or the threat—or shall I say promise—of it. A state of national military emergency has become normal in our thinking. Business planning is predicated on it. Higher education must constantly adjust its program to it. "Wars and rumors of war" have become substantive to our thinking.

Truce negotiations in Korea, which at the moment seem to be making real progress, are having a profoundly disturbing effect upon the stock market and in the thinking of many business people, particularly retail merchants.

Among our newspaper and radio commentators there seems to be a tendency to assume that nothing good can come out of peace discussions with North Korea, Red China or Russia. Many Congressmen likewise follow this line of thought. If we make peace now they seem to say, it will merely put Russia in a better position to make war later.

#### "Bear Story" vs. The Christian Ideal

In such an atmosphere it begins to appear that we are indeed afraid of peace. It is as though we regard peace as an instrument of Communist policy to undermine the West in preparation for a final all-out military onslaught.

In a newspaper one reads, "Let's look at the prospect for the remainder of '53 coldly—and with no hurried jumping into depression basements at bear stories that come along — from Russia." Peace, one discovers from such newspaper sources, is a "bear story" from "Russia."

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### FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY SUNDAY JULY 5

Freedom and Democracy Sunday falls on July 5 this year, just one day after July 4. The Department of Social Welfare has mailed to all ministers, directors of religious education, Sunday school superintendents, Christian Women's Fellowship and CYF leaders an order card for use in ordering free and cost materials for observance of the day. An impressive poster 17" x 22" has been prepared and will be sent free to groups ordering supplies. Materials for worship are provided for use in the worship service of the church and for Sunday school groups. Anticipating that many ministers will be in attendance on the International Convention at Portland, Oregon at this time the Department has prepared materials which can be used by lay leaders at the morning worship hour. Observance of Freedom and Democracy Sunday is one way in which the church can contribute to the struggle for human dignity and freedom now going on all over the world. Church leaders who received the order card and replica of the poster should send in their orders at once. Others desiring these materials should write the Department of Social Welfare, 222 South Downey Ave. Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

J.A.C.

### SUMMER STUDY

*Summer School of Alcohol Studies, Yale University, June 28 - July 23.* A limited number of tuition scholarships available for qualified ministers, religious educators and religious workers. A splendid opportunity to study the alcohol problem from the scientific standpoint.

For information concerning the 2 study opportunities listed pp 1 and 4 of this issue write at once to James A. Crain, Executive Secretary, Department of Social Welfare, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.



## SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

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*The opinions and points of view expressed in this publication are those of the editors and do not necessarily represent The United Christian Missionary Society.*

### A FAITH TO LIVE FOR

The recent tragic death of former Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. in Washington, D. C., inspired *The Progressive*, liberal weekly founded by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., and later edited by his son, to reproduce the following statement of political faith written by "Young Bob" in 1946 while he was still a member of the Senate from Wisconsin. Perhaps the faith of American political liberalism has never been better stated than in the following declaration:

"Freedom, as I understand it, does not mean freedom to starve in the midst of plenty. It does not mean freedom to live in a squalid slum. It does not mean freedom to spend one's old age in a charity ward. It does not mean freedom to die of an incurable disease because of the lack of funds.

"Freedom, as I understand its fullest and richest meaning, is the preservation by the people of their individual liberties — civil, political and religious—while banding together as a free people to elect a government of their own choosing for the purpose of providing for the common welfare of all.

"The choice is not between food and freedom. We can have both. There is a middle way—an American, democratic way to give the people what they need and want without surrender of basic political rights.

"It is in the fight to reach this goal of the American Idea that I have devoted my 21 years of service in the U. S. Senate. I have fought *against* every attempt to trespass on our liberties as individuals, and I have fought *for* every proposal of a social and economic character which would, in the words of the preamble to our Constitution, 'promote the general welfare.'

This is the sort of faith which men were once not afraid to stand up and declare, even on the floor of the House and Senate. It is the American Dream, the unfinished American Revolution which some people so greatly fear.

J.A.C.

## WASHINGTON ROUND-UP

→*Isolationism.* The United States policy of world cooperation is undergoing its most serious challenge at home since the post World War I Congressional debates which cut off participation in the League of Nations. The return to isolationism is rampant in Congress and anti-United Nations sentiment appears to be growing stronger. This new "go it alone" spirit is presently asserting itself in a historic attack on the powers of the President to conduct day-by-day relationships with other countries. The key author of this move to overturn tradition is Senator John Bricker, Republican of Ohio. His bill (S. J. Res. 1) would amend the Constitution to limit the treaty making powers of the President. A companion bill (S. J. Res. 43) by Senator Arthur Watkins, Republican of Utah, goes even farther than the Bricker resolution. Together these bills, if passed and ratified by the State legislatures would be a formidable obstacle to U. S. participation in world affairs.

→*Serious Challenge:* The Bricker and Watkins resolutions are not in the work of a "disenchanted" few, but have substantial and influential backing. Senator Bricker was joined by 63 other senators, in sponsoring his measure, just one vote short of the two-thirds required for passage. Support for this move includes Majority Leader Robert A. Taft, and other important GOP leaders. The drive to limit the President's powers to make treaties and enter into executive agreements originated in the last Congress while President Truman was still in office. There are indications that some Republican senators may withdraw their support now that a member of their own party is in the White House.

→*S. J. Res. 1:* The Bricker resolution deals with Article VI of the U. S. Constitution which states:

"This Constitution . . . and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Senator Bricker's resolution would invalidate any treaty or executive agreement that "denies or abridges" a Constitutional right; bar control by an international organization of any matter "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States"; and require enabling legislation by Congress before a treaty could become effective as internal law. Those who support this proposal argue that a strong President and a compliant Congress could use a treaty to make otherwise unconstitutional legislation "the supreme law of the land."

→*S. J. Res. 43:* The Watkins resolution is based on the 10th Amendment

to the Constitution which retains for the States all powers not specifically delegated to the Federal Government. This proposal would require ratification by the 48 States and Congress for any treaty or executive agreement that affects the states.

→*Secretary Dulles:* The Eisenhower Administration's case against the Bricker and Watkins resolutions was presented at a Congressional hearing by Secretary of State Dulles. He said "each of the resolutions would deprive the nation of treaty-making power in large areas. They would deny to all treaties the force of law, making their enforcement depend on subsequent action of the Congress, and in the case of S. J. Res. 43, also of the 48 States. They would subject the current, day-by-day, conduct of foreign affairs to impediments which might be stifling." Mr. Dulles pointed out that the resolutions would shift the 160 year old Constitutional balance of power in a manner that "would gravely embarrass" the President. The Secretary said the President would find it difficult to deal with other nations when they had little assurance that his word carried authority. In addition, he said the U. S. might be unable to participate in such international arrangements as the control of atomic energy.

→*Our Rights:* Opponents of the treaty limitation proposal also assert that no rights have been or could be abridged by any international or U.N. agreements. They say:

1. No treaty is superior to the Constitution and none can violate any specific provision contained therein.

2. The constitutional phrase "all treaties . . . shall be the supreme law of the land" means that it is superior to existing state or federal law, not the Constitution; and in any event Congress could enact new federal law that would supersede a treaty.

3. The U. N. Draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides that nations with higher standards of human rights need not reduce them to the common level provided in a world agreement.

4. The Senate or the Congress may prevent any treaty submitted to it from being self-executing.

5. The U. S. delegation to the U. N. has written into the human rights agreement a clause which prevents a federal government from usurping any powers not granted by the Constitution.

→*United Nations:* The Bricker and Watkins resolutions are generally regarded as aiming to destroy the influence of the U.N. by building up an atmosphere of irrational fear of its authority. They cite no instances where international treaties have limited or abridged any rights of U. S. citizens. What then, is all the shouting about? Most observers feel that the charge of U. N. omnipotence is a smoke screen for the new isolationism. Fortunately for President Eisenhower there may be enough Democrats on his side to defeat these proposals.

R.A.F.



## ON SOCIAL FRONTIERS

*Laborers in the Market-Place.* Judge William E. Steckler, of the Federal District Court in Indianapolis, Indiana, on April 9 handed down a ruling that religious bodies which employ their own members to produce goods and in church work are exempt from compliance with the federal wage and hour law. The ruling was made in connection with the dismissal of a complaint of the U. S. Department of Labor against the Pilgrim Holiness Church Corporation, of Indianapolis, publishing house of that denomination, charging that the concern had paid its employees less than the statutory 75c per hour and less than the required time-and-a-half overtime pay since September 1, 1950. The corporation argued that Congress never intended for the Fair Labor Standards Act to be applied to church organizations, that to make such application would violate the first amendment to the Constitution, and that federal wage controls could force a religious organization out of existence. One wonders what sort of law and religion sanctifies a wage of less than \$30 for a 40 hour week.

*The Slaughter Still Goes on.* The National Safety Council's annual review of highway traffic accidents shows that 38,000 persons were killed in automobile accidents in 1952. An estimated 1,350,000 persons were injured. If we accept the Council's estimate that 25 percent of the deaths and injuries on highways are due to drinking drivers or drinking pedestrians—many coroners, police, judges, and others, say a much higher percentage—we arrive at the figure of 500 persons dead and 337,500 injured because either they or the driver of an automobile were under the influence of liquor. "One for the road" is not only foolish—it is potentially criminal.

*Heifer Project Incorporates.* After several years experience as an informal group the Heifer Project Committee on March 27 filed articles of incorporation under the laws of Indiana as Heifer Project, Inc. Since 1947 the Heifer Project Committee has shipped 406 heifers, 97 bulls, 5,618 goats, and other livestock to various war-torn and famine ridden lands. Requests for animals are still coming in from the World Council of Churches, the Technical Assistance Administration, and from various other international relief agencies. One of its latest projects was the shipping by air of 10,000 day-old chicks from New York to Egypt in approximately 60 hours. At the reorganization meeting requests were received from a number of organizations, including Church World Service, Inc., and the World Council of Churches, totaling several hundred animals.

J.A.C.

## HAVE YOU READ?

*To Win These Rights*, by Lucy Randolph Mason, with a foreword by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Harper & Brothers, 200 pp plus index. \$3.00. 1952.

When the C.I.O. encounters a tough organizing job in the South the chances are that a hurried call will go to Atlanta for "Miss Lucy" to come and help straighten things out. For, you see, "Miss Lucy" has a way of dealing with antagonistic employers, mayors, sheriffs, chiefs of police, and newspaper editors that more often than not brings them to recognize that under the law workers have a right to organize under leaders of their own choosing. "Miss Lucy," who is Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, had already won recognition as a social worker and Y.W.C.A. secretary in Richmond, Virginia, and as general secretary of the National Consumers League before she was chosen by John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman in 1937 to serve as public relations director for the C.I.O. in the South. Possessor of an attractive personality and an historic name that dates back to the Revolution, this gray-haired daughter of a Virginia Episcopal minister who was a cousin of Robert E. Lee wins most of her battles by graciousness and tact, though she can be as hard as nails when circumstances require. As a Y.W.C.A. secretary and later as general secretary of the National Consumers League, Miss Mason became deeply interested in the condition of Negroes, white sharecroppers and Southern industrial workers in the face of increasing industrialization of the South. When her banker brother-in-law introduced her to John L. Lewis, then head of the C.I.O., the die was cast. She resigned her \$5000-a-year job with the Consumers League and went to work for the C.I.O. at \$3600. Her book is a personal record of fifteen years of selfless service on behalf of labor. Those who read the book will concur in Mrs. Roosevelt's judgment that Lucy Randolph Mason possesses a fiery fighting spirit and a passion for justice and truth.

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*Peace to a Jew*, by Herbert Rona. Pageant Press, New York. \$2.50.

According to the jacket, the story of Davis Frank is in reality the story of the author and his experiences as the son of a wealthy Jewish family in pre-Hitler Germany, his escapades and amours in various European countries as a representative of his father's firm, his break with his father and family, their death in a Nazi concentration camp, his flight to the newly established country of Israel, and his eventual coming to a sense of peace and security within the fellowship of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Salt Lake. A

## DEMOCRACY BEGINS IN THE HOME

Troubled parents seeking to strike a balance between the parental mailed fist and the kid glove will find many helpful hints on democratic discipline in Ernest Osborne's new pamphlet, *Democracy Begins In the Home*. The pamphlet is 25c and is published by the Public Affairs Committee Inc., 22 East 38th St., New York City.

Dr. Osborne, Professor of Education at Teachers College and well-known writer on parent education, examines a variety of typical family situations to show how democracy can be learned in everyday family life.

Authoritarian parents, he suggests, as well as those who "do everything" for their children, will alike end up with offspring who are unprepared for adult roles as responsible citizens. Disciplining children is much more than using force on them, the author points out. In its wider sense it is teaching them to do what is necessary for people to live happily together.

Parents should not act as if they "owned" their children, but should be guided by respect for them as individuals who share in a cooperative venture. Children should be given opportunities to make simple choices from an early age—for only in that way can they learn to make decisions, and to take the consequences of poor ones. "There is no one right way for a family to operate democratically," writes Dr. Osborne, "Democracy as a way of life may be expressed quite differently in different families. What is important is that the spirit of cooperative sharing—of consideration for the rights of each in the group—is expressed through whatever is done."

The family council plan is discussed as helpful in giving children a sense of "belonging" and sharing in family problems. Family-centered hobbies and projects are recommended in giving children common interests with parents.

Democratic family living not only repays in satisfaction and happiness, concludes Dr. Osborne, but—on the larger scene — children must be taught the essence of democracy in the give-and-take of family life if the struggle against dictatorship and statism is to be successful. Democracy as an ideal will never be meaningful to them if this give-and-take is not practiced.

R.E.M.

more discerning Jew would not have accepted the Mormon theory of the "lost tribes," with its Anglo-Israelitish overtones quite so easily. The book is basically an apology for the Mormon Church.

J.A.C.



## RELIGION AND LABOR

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former director of the U.N. Trusteeship Council and now dean of Washington Cathedral, and Rabbi Jacob B. Weinstein. These are representative names from the list of 45 outstanding personalities who constitute the board.

The sessions of the convention were stimulating to a high degree. The attendance was not large — about 100—but the quality was high. Among them an encouraging number of students from several outstanding theological seminaries. Represented on the program were some of the top men of labor, such as Roy Reuther who substituted for his brother Walter, who was detained in New York in connection with discussions of the AFL-CIO merger, Glenn Atkinson, assistant to George M. Harrison, and Jack Kroll, director of PAC-CIO.

The top leaders of labor today are men of keen minds who know their way around. They have to be, to hold their own at the bargaining table. Many are well educated. Many of them are deeply religious. John G. Ramsay is a devoted Presbyterian layman. Al Whitehouse is a former Disciple elder. Nelson Cruikshank and Charles Webber are Methodist ministers in good standing loaned to the labor movement. Orville Jones and David Burgess are ordained Congregational Christian ministers. All three Reuther brothers are active members of the Lutheran Church. Ramsay, Whitehouse and Walter Reuther are members of the executive board of the department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches.

Throughout the sessions of the convention there was keen awareness that neither the church nor the labor movement is perfect. There was searching criticism of both for their failures and shortcomings. The church was criticised for its frequent failure to stand up for common justice in specific situations where the welfare of workers is at stake and for its timidity in the face of economic pressures so often exerted in strike situations. On the other hand, labor was criticised for its failure to understand that the church ministers to all sorts of people in the community, that it is composed of people who are at all stages on their way to becoming Christians, and that consequently it must find the highest common denominator of truth and justice possible in a given situation and at a given time. Admittedly it is often timid in the face of social and economic pressure, but when all is said the church is still the most courageous and prophetic institution in human society. It was pointed out that the labor

## "FIRST CHURCH SERVES ITS COMMUNITY"

This is the title of a brand new sound film strip produced by the Jam Handy Organization for the Department of Social Welfare in cooperation with the Department of Audio-Visual Services of The United Christian Missionary Society. The 15 minute, 84 frame production is on sale for \$10 through the Department of Audio-Visual Services, or can be secured on a rental basis. As a leadership education feature it should be in the film library of every church for repeated use by various organizations and groups. The story gives a vivid description of how First Church in Midtown discovered its community and learned how to identify itself with community needs and serve its people through a series of incidents which brought the church face to face with critical social problems. Dr. Andrew, the pastor had long sensed the need for a program of Christian action and community service, but it was not until Jim and Ann Marshall were brought face to face with a serious problem in their own neighborhood that the necessary leadership was found. First Church Serves Its Community will stir your church to action and will help them to discover ways to meet community social issues.

J.A.C.

## SUMMER STUDY

*Institutes on Racial and Cultural Relations.* At Lincoln University, Pa., July 20-24; at Eden Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo. Aug. 3-7; at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon, July 13-19. A few scholarships available to ministers and church leaders in each of these areas.

movement faces exactly the same condition in its own membership and that its program is often handicapped by the lag in understanding and commitment on the part of its members. Out of such frank discussions better understanding comes.

The most serious problem confronting the National Religion and Labor Foundation is the lack of adequate financing. Labor, through the treasuries of various national and local unions, contributes about \$10,000 a year to the program. The contributions from religious sources, principally memberships in Religion and Labor fellowships, is much smaller. One of the tasks confronting the Foundation is the problem of larger support from church sources. The Religion and Labor Foundation can serve as a mighty force to bring the church and the labor movement into cooperation to achieve the ideal of a Christian social order if both labor and religion grasp the opportunity which the hour presents.

J.A.C.

## ARE WE AFRAID

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Christians in America in such a day would do well to reassess their stake in peace. Peace is a vital Christian term and the mere fact that the word is used, or misused, by Communists for propaganda purposes is no reason why we should surrender it.

It is high time that Christian Americans evaluate carefully their own emotional reactions to peace. If, indeed, we must beware of peace movements and projects which may have Communists backing, then it is high time that we begin to develop some indigenous Christian peace programs of our own. To reject phony peace programs does not necessitate our abandoning the concept itself. Peace is a Christian ideal and Christians must begin to implement it.

### The Time Is Now!

Furthermore, peace is not something to be treated gingerly simply because the transition from preparation for war to a peace time economy may lead to problems of economic dislocation. It may be that not all business people are as confident as Theodore H. Silbert, president of the Standard Factors Corporation, which has just completed a survey of the outlook of 347 companies. Yet, certainly many responsible business men will agree with him when he says, "most business men are fervently hoping that the new truce negotiations will reach a happier conclusion than the last time so that they can plunge ahead with their new plans and products."

Actually, in other words from the point of view of responsible business men there is real reason for confidence in the future of our country and our world even though the economy might not be so completely dependent upon war orders as in the past.

Christians, however, even if faced with a postwar slump feared by many, should still speak out confidently for peace—encouraging their governments to follow through on its announced policy of meeting halfway all peace proposals coming from the Soviet camp.

It is time, also, for us to look at the prospects for a truce as something other than a time for diplomatic and military jockeying in preparation for another war. Such a time of peace furnishes America and the other nations of the earth with a real opportunity for eliminating some of the causes of war, such as hunger, disease, race prejudice, and population pressures.

Are we afraid of peace? Many of us act as though we have been.

B.H.